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OPERATIONAL LEADERSHIP: THREE SALIENT ATTRIBUTES

by

Pat L. Williams
LCDR USN

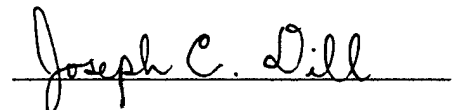
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The contents of this paper reflect my own personal views and are not necessarily endorsed by the Naval War College or the Department of the Navy.



PAT L. WILLIAMS, LCDR USN

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JOSEPH C. DILL, LTCOL USAF
Faculty Advisor, JMO Professor

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ABSTRACT

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Among the challenges facing the United States military in the 21st century is future operational leadership. With the evolving reliance on information technology, the human factor will be increasingly more important in the accurate selection of future operational leaders. The ability to recognize the 2010 operational commander is one of the most critical tasks for leaders today. In waging war, having the right combination of operational leadership attributes is essential to successful warfighting and victory on the battlefield.

The numerous attributes of an operational commander are narrowed to the three most pivotal characteristics. Historical evidence shows that the most successful operational commanders had *superior professional knowledge*, *unwavering courage*, and *inspiring vision*.

In identifying future operational leaders, senior leadership must know which specific attributes to hone-in on, and then observe, early on, those officers with the knack for operational leadership. Furthermore, today's leaders must mentor and groom tomorrow's leaders.

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I. Introduction

In today's high-technological world, *menschenführung*, or *leading human beings* remains vitally important. More specifically, operational leadership skills are essential in future military leaders. In identifying 21st century warfighting Commander's in Chief (CINC), senior leadership must know which specific attributes to hone-in on, observing early, those officers with the knack for operational leadership. Senior leaders must then groom those officers possessing, at a minimum, the three most salient attributes of a successful operational leader. Inevitably, this raises fundamental questions about the essence and characteristics of leadership.

Leadership is the individual phenomenon of influencing others, inspiring them to do their best. It is an art that is often defined differently, depending on the person. The focus here is on operational leadership. The essence of operational leadership is planning, making sound decisions, directing, and implementing those decisions. The test of operational leadership is warriors waging and winning war, even when their leader is killed prior to victory. While not necessarily always in agreement, warriors follow successful commanders to victory and defeat.

Leadership has less to do with position than it does with disposition. In other words, while personality may be a big part of leadership, personality alone does not make a successful leader. As historical evidence will show, the successful operational leader had *superior professional knowledge, unwavering courage, and inspiring vision—the three most salient operational leadership attributes*. The operational commander also needs ample preparation. Professional knowledge provides the benchmark from which great operational leaders are formed. The successful operational leader influences troops by providing purpose, guidance, and motivation while operating to accomplish the mission.

As asserted by General Omar N. Bradley, “an essential qualification of a good leader is the ability to recognize, select, and train junior leaders.”¹ This ability is imperative in today’s leaders. It is not sufficient to simply ask about an individual’s experiences upon arrival and departure of a command. The more critical task is to identify then mentor and groom future operational leaders. Focusing on the most salient operational leadership attributes enhances the CINC’s ability to accurately select 2010 operational commanders. One method of identifying 2010 operational commanders is by pinning down key historical operational leadership attributes, then recognizing those attributes in today’s leaders to prepare them for combatant command.

To surpass the success of historical leaders, today’s operational commanders must learn from past leaders, and file in their cerebral bank of knowledge, the varying ways of planning and winning wars and operations other than war. Historical analysis will be more instantaneous with the advent of information technology. Moreover, the evolving reliance on technology, and real-time access to the shooter enhances the 21st century CINC’s situational awareness and ability to succeed in military operations. Despite such technological advances, the human factor must not be minimized, as there is no substitute for successful operational leaders and their troops on the ground. Even with the great technology strides in the 21st century, the most important leadership skills CINCs must distinguish are the potential combatant commander’s level of professional knowledge, courage, and vision.

In identifying the 21st century CINCs, the importance of formal professional military education, lessons-learned, training, exercises, and wargaming is indisputable. Nevertheless, there are at least three key leadership attributes of which today’s leaders must be aware, for the sake of tomorrow’s leaders. To this end, military history provides insight into the way wars have

been won or lost, and the role of the leader. Moreover, lessons for future operational leaders drawn from historical study provide battlefield experience to those who have not yet gained first-hand experience in war.

Many scholars have made significant progress in developing theoretical explanations for the evolution of leadership. The following section reviews some of that literature.

II. Review of the Literature

Existing scholarly literature ponders leadership in terms of qualities, adaptability to different situations, a function of behavior and charisma, styles of leadership, and a functional approach. Research confirms that leadership continues to be a popular subject. In fact, the very concept of leadership – inducing others to work toward an objective – raises fundamental questions regarding a leader’s essential attributes for getting troops to perform at higher levels of productivity.

In one of the earliest known treatises on planning and conducting war, Sun Tzu offered a collection of essays on the *art of war*. Likewise, Prussian theorist Carl von Clausewitz wrote at length about the subject of warfare and the necessity of good leadership, providing a glimpse of the leadership qualities required for excelling in combat. Both theorists recognized the importance of the leadership element in combat. Moreover, they acknowledged the importance of knowledge, courage, and vision in combat leaders or generals.

US Army Field Manual (FM) 100-5, *Operations*, states “the most essential dynamic of combat power is competent officer and noncommissioned officer leadership. Leaders inspire soldiers with the will to win. They provide purpose, direction, and motivation in combat.”² FM 100-5 asserts that leadership is demonstrating moral and physical courage in the face of adversity, and providing the vision that both focuses and anticipates the future course of events.

Furthermore, commanders at all levels require vision to fight simultaneously within theaters of operations.³ As a result of their professional knowledge, courage, and vision, the most successful operational commanders are much more than competent officers. They are the most successful in waging war.

Field Marshall Viscount Bernard L. Montgomery argues that many outstanding qualities of great leaders are obvious and straightforward. "For example, a thorough knowledge of his job, of his profession, is an absolute pre-requisite; and then a never-ending study to keep himself up-to-date. Not only must he be a master of his trade; he must also be always learning."⁴ In his study of history, Montgomery observed that the successful commander had sound knowledge on conducting war, an imagination, the will to win, and a stroke of luck that was seized and turned to boldness.⁵ For purposes herein, boldness is synonymous with courage. According to Clausewitz, "a distinguished commander without boldness is unthinkable."⁶

Burt Nanus, a noted consultant in leadership, vision, and strategic planning for business, government, and nonprofit organizations is a Professor at the University of Southern California. Nanus is the author of several books, including *Leaders: The Strategies for Taking Charge*, co-authored with Warren Bennis, and *Visionary Leadership*. Nanus writes that vision must be idealistic and a "mental model of a future state of the . . . organization."⁷ He asserts that vision must be appropriate and include standards of excellence, purpose, and direction. Organizational vision must be ambitious, easily articulated, and well understood. For the operational commander, vision can be described as the complete mental image of the mission to be accomplished.

Warren Bennis, a Distinguished Professor of Business Administration at the University of Southern California is widely recognized for his study and reflection on leadership. He has

written many books, including the best-selling *Leaders: The Strategies for Taking Charge*, co-authored with Burt Nanus, and *On Becoming a Leader*. According to Bennis, “to survive in the 21st Century, we’re going to need a new generation of leaders—leaders, not simply managers.”⁸ Taken further, the military will need a new generation of leaders—successful operational leaders.

Many scholars, among them, Lynne McFarland, Larry Senn, and John Childress, who interviewed 100 of America’s top leaders, recognize the need for visionary leaders in the 21st century. “Vision is key for any successful organization because it provides a ‘magnetic north,’ a true direction for people to follow.”⁹ Great operational leaders unify and inspire troops through vision. In military operations, that compelling vision may be the decisive factor.

The literature reveals that effective leadership is critical, yet complex. Furthermore, as recent studies assert, vision is an important characteristic of successful leadership. Which leads to questions about the myriad qualities of successful operational commanders.

Theorists offer multiple attributes that affect leadership. They include: honor, character, integrity, loyalty, flexibility, judgment, decisiveness, initiative, knowledge, courage, imagination, ambition, boldness, self-confidence, humility, persistence, and vision. The analytical challenge is to discern which attributes are the most crucial, then examine historical examples. Also important is a definition of the three most pivotal attributes for successful operational leadership—professional knowledge, courage, and vision.

III. Three Salient Attributes

Operational leaders with superior professional knowledge, courage, and vision are the most successful, particularly in waging war. As is the case with the term *leadership*, definitions of the three most salient attributes may vary, depending on the individual.

1. Professional Knowledge

The successful operational commander's most basic attributes include understanding past military events and the theoretical principles of operational art. The range of one's information of the military profession is critical for an operational leader. Knowing the business of war is key to victory. According to General Omar Bradley, a thorough knowledge of your profession is the first requirement of leadership. Observing others and studying past leaders to see what made them great operational leaders is essential.¹⁰ Clausewitz also espouses the importance of knowledge. He notes that professional knowledge is gained through reflection, study, and thought.¹¹ When there is balance between the operational leader's military education and his staff's knowledge, then such a relationship is conducive to successful planning. Sound planning decisions lead to the most effective operations. Moreover, "a prince or general can best demonstrate his genius by managing a campaign exactly to suit his objective and resources, doing neither too much nor too little. But the effects of genius show not so much in novel forms of action as in the ultimate success of the whole"¹²

Knowledge of the combat area is necessary for exceptional performance by the operational commander, as is an understanding of the enemy. More succinctly put by Sun Tzu, "know the enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles you will never be in peril."¹³ To lead successfully, you must know your soldiers, yourself, and your profession. Education, including formal military training molds the military mind. Military academies, war colleges, command and staff colleges, and other military training combined with job experience and practical application produce the most successful operational commander.

Great leaders grounded in knowledge of their military profession have uncanny abilities. For instance, during war, the ability to understand when one's forces are close to degrading, and

recognizing and exploiting the enemy's degradation—essentially taking advantage of the culminating point. Additionally, in peace or war, the ability to recognize those individuals who display exceptional boldness or simply, courage.

2. Courage

Courage not complacency – is our need today. Leadership not salesmanship.

John F. Kennedy

The next most fundamental element for successful operational leadership is the mental quality that recognizes fear of danger or criticism, but enables one to proceed in the face of it with calmness and firmness. "War is the realm of danger; therefore *courage* is the soldier's first requirement."¹⁴ As defined here, courage is synonymous with boldness. Successful operational commanders persevere in pursuit of objectives regardless of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Unwavering courage does not imply a lack of respect for the uncertainty of war. This is where the commander's professional knowledge combines with courage. The successful operational leader's courageous acts are governed by his professional military education and training. Clausewitz makes the case for the importance of daring and risk-taking, asserting that boldness is a genuinely creative force, and the first prerequisite of the great military leader.¹⁵ Moreover, courage is the ability to rise above the most menacing dangers. "There are times when the utmost daring is the height of wisdom"¹⁶ where the successful operational leader manipulates uncertainty through professional knowledge, courage, and vision.

3. Vision

Finally, vision encapsulates foresight, imagination, and forward thinking. It is an ability to visualize the desired end-state, then determine the ways and means to achieve that end-state with minimal losses in troops and equipment. Ideally, desired end-state and plans for post

hostilities are the last links in a commander's vision. Ambitious and resourceful, effective operational commanders envision a successful outcome through the use of regressive planning.¹⁷ They plan for everything, including a broad conception of how not to destroy the things one might ultimately need to reach the desired outcome. Successful operational leaders must see beyond the *fog and friction of war*, and apply education and formal training with vision, empowering their troops beyond the battle, engagement, major operation, or campaign. A forceful combat motivator for decisive action, "a vision is a target that beckons."¹⁸

To illustrate the three most salient attributes, instead of the typical comparative analysis of individuals or campaigns, presented next are a series of general observations of the legacies of operational leaders in action.

IV. Legacies of Leadership

One may question the relevance of such an examination of historical operational leaders, asserting that focusing on the future is more applicable. In reality, the opposite is true. "The study of military history has proven to be the best preparation for the future operational commander."¹⁹ This history has strongly shaped the military's leadership development, as well as its propensity for waging and winning wars.

Great operational leaders are not hard to find when browsing through history. Alexander the Great, Hannibal, Caesar, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Wellington, Grant, Allenby, and MacArthur come to mind. However, this section examines the operational leadership of other and possibly in some instances, less known successful and not so successful leaders, assessing the salience of the three most salient attributes: professional knowledge, courage, and vision.

Gustavus Adolphus was well-learned, courageous, and a visionary. His intensive study included military art. Focusing on the history of the *art of war*, from Caesar to Maurice of

Nassau, he grasped the essence of successful warfighting. Building the Swedish army from next to nothing, he sought to turn his small state into a monarchy, crushing all opposition. According to Clausewitz, Adolphus foreshadowed Napoleon in risk-taking.²⁰ Trevor Dupuy, U.S. Army, (Ret.) authored several books on the military lives of historical leaders. As Dupuy pointed out, Adolphus combined exceptional leadership attributes with a truly unique, creative, organizational genius. He not only understood the theory and practice of ground warfare but he visualized warfare improvements, including weapons that he used successfully in conducting war.

For example, as the first major Protestant victory, the Battle of Breitenfeld marked a turning point in the Thirty Year's War. Often considered the first great battle of modern times, it was one of Adolphus's most triumphant victories. A contest between his new mobile, hard-hitting, and flexible tactics and the old method of troops grouped in slow-moving infantry squares to crush resistance by sheer weight.²¹ In early September of 1631, General Johann Tserclaes, Graf von (Count of) Tilly, Imperial Commander, invaded Saxony and after seizing Leipzig, arrayed his army in Breitenfeld to meet the Swedish-Saxon advance. The Saxons on the Swedish left were routed by Tilly's initial attack. Nevertheless, Tilly's attempt to turn this flank was repulsed when Field Marshall Horn, Commander of the Swedish left, shifted troops to form a new front to his flank in the heat of battle—the first time this was done in modern warfare—a tribute to Adolphus's strategy. Meanwhile, the Swedish right withstood seven hours of Imperial cavalry charges. Adolphus then personally led a furious counterattack around Tilly's left, captured the Saxon guns lost earlier, as well as the Imperial artillery, and cut through the massive Imperial infantry squares. The Imperial army fled, leaving behind all their artillery along with 7,000 dead and 6,000 captured soldiers. Swedish losses were less than 3,000.²² The Swedish victory was one of movement and firepower over weight of formation—a first in the modern age.

Adolphus is considered by many as the Father of Modern Warfare.²³ His professional knowledge, boldness, and vision made him a successful operational leader. See the Battle of Breitenfeld maps in appendix A, for therein lies the *genius* of Gustavus Adolphus.

Successful operational leaders know their craft. **General Matthew B. Ridgway** had a solid educational foundation. Raised in a military family, he was a 1917 graduate of West Point. Ridgway also attended Fort Benning's infantry school, Fort Leavenworth's Command and General Staff College, and the Army War College. With several years of formal military training, he had the theoretical background, and the courage required for practical application.²⁴

For instance, on 9 June 1944 Ridgway displayed a great illustration of courage. After a scattered Allied landing on the beaches of Normandy, Ridgway's 82nd Airborne Division launched a frontal attack across a narrow causeway bridging the Merderet River. Under intense German fire, and with a lack of maneuver room, the 82nd was seemingly in peril. Allied vehicles and equipment blocked the causeway and hundreds of confused, wounded, or dead paratroopers lay along the road. Showing heroic bravery, Ridgway appeared on the causeway carrying a rifle. Consequently, Ridgway and his commanders reversed the flow of men away from the German assault and across the causeway by exhortation and example. Ridgway attached a towing cable to a disabled U.S. tank and with the help of his troops, cleared a passage through the wreckage.²⁵ The airborne troops eventually fought their way across the causeway and the river. Through personal example and courage, Ridgway inspired his troops and led the courageous 82nd through the *fog of war*.

Throughout his distinguished military career, **General Omar N. Bradley** was recognized as an exceptional leader, tactician, and educator. As commandant of the infantry school, he developed the officer candidate program through which more than 40,000 leaders of World War

II were commissioned. During the war, he successively commanded a division, corps, army, and army group. Time and again, the soundness of his campaign planning was evident. While commanding II Corps, he was instrumental in defeating German forces in North Africa and Sicily. His successful career as a field commander reached a peak when, as commander of the 12th Army Group he greatly assisted in the liberation of Europe. Bradley's troops defeated a German counteroffensive during the winter of 1944 - 1945, seized the first bridgehead over the Rhine River, and drove through central Germany, meeting with advancing Soviet forces to defeat the Axis. Bradley's success was due in large part to his mastery of the military profession, his courage, and vision.

Similarly, **General George S. Patton, Jr.**, was an intense student of war and one of the all time leading practitioners of war. A man of bold action, commanding troops in *the Dash across France*, Patton has become a worldwide legend as a soldier. Commissioned in the cavalry, he became an innovator early, promoting the cause of mechanized and armored warfare. From the basic level of the tank school of the American Expeditionary Forces in World War I to the vast armored formations of the 3rd Army that slashed across Europe in World War II, armored warfare owes a debt to Patton. He was a combat commander of the highest order. Successively leading the Western Task Force in the landings in North Africa, II Corps across Tunisia, and 7th Army in Sicily, he instilled an unbeatable fighting spirit in his troops. Patton demonstrated the prowess of American arms by leading 3rd Army to the continent to exploit the St. Lo breakout. His remarkable turn to the north to reinforce Bastogne was a classic field maneuver and brilliant staff undertaking.²⁶ Patton is well known for his showmanship and audacity. Moreover, an avid student of military history, he learned much about the *art of war*.

Consequently, when one combines Patton's professional knowledge, with his courage and boundless vision, it becomes clear that he was one of history's greatest combat commanders.

In assessing the salience of the successful commander's three most pivotal attributes, it is also insightful to glimpse the actions of operational leaders who were not as effective.

While ultimately victorious, **General Dwight D. Eisenhower's** broad operational scheme during the August 1944 Normandy operations was attrition based. It was a long, slow advance over French territory, and generally lacked the innovation and boldness necessary to, quickly and decisively, destroy the enemy. There has been controversy over the single-thrust versus the broad-front idea, and for those who would rewrite history, different theories on which plan would have been more successful. The Allied forces eventually defeated Axis forces, and Eisenhower stands as one of history's great generals. Nevertheless, as noted by General Bradley, Eisenhower's operational abilities were generally rather limited. In Bradley's assessment, "He was a political General of rare and valuable gifts, but...he did not know how to manage a battlefield."²⁷ This assessment supports the notion that Eisenhower lacked a complete mastery of professional military knowledge, pertaining to the battlefield. Moreover, from Field Marshall Montgomery's point of view, it was essential to take *bold risks* in order to finish the war in August 1944, but he was unable to persuade Eisenhower to take such risks, and war continued into the following year with mass casualties.²⁸ Eisenhower's broad-front strategy was not a display of courage, or the boldness necessary to quickly defeat the enemy.

Assessing **Field Marshall Viscount Lord Gort** while he was Commander in Chief of the British Expeditionary Forces, Field Marshall Montgomery writes that Gort lacked military knowledge, imagination, and vision. Overly concerned with the details rather than principles, his preparation for the Battle of France was unimaginative. Gort's counterattack was unable to

withstand the May 1940 German assault. His only recourse was a hasty retreat. Abandoning most of the British Army's equipment, Gort managed to evacuate over a quarter of a million men back to England from Dunkirk.²⁹ Interestingly, the German's had halted their attack on Dunkirk.

A West Point education alone does not guarantee success on the battlefield. For example, "**General George G. Meade**, commander of the Army of the Potomac, successfully defended at Gettysburg, but had not the vision to effectively command the war effort in the East."³⁰ He was educated, but lacked vision and could not see beyond the current battle. Meade lacked confidence in his abilities, and was often criticized for not boldly and aggressively pursuing Confederate forces after Gettysburg battles in the summer of 1863. Moreover, his lack of courage resulted in lost opportunities for total victory at decisive points like Gettysburg, Manassas Gap, and Rappahannock. The Confederates escaped, and war continued until they surrendered in 1865.

While lauding Adolphus as one of the greatest creators of an army, Field Marshall Montgomery suggested that **Charles XII** would not go down in history as a great captain. He assessed Charles XII as a leader who had great physical courage, but was sadly lacking in wisdom or professional knowledge and vision.³¹ Similarly, according to Clausewitz, "Charles XII of Sweden is not thought of as a great genius, for he could never subordinate his military gifts to superior insights and wisdom, and could never achieve a great goal with them."³²

These are but a few brief examples of the insight to be gained from studying past leaders in action. Unless a historian by trade, many may question an in-depth reflection on history. Nevertheless, as asserted by General Bradley, the study of military history is vital to officer development. Officers must study the principles of war and the theoretical handling of troops. While tomorrow's operational commanders will not face the exact situation as yesterday's

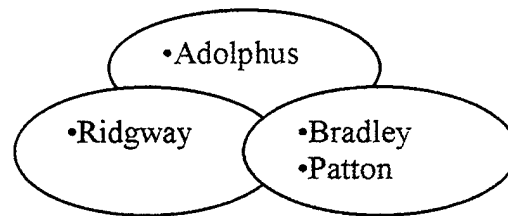
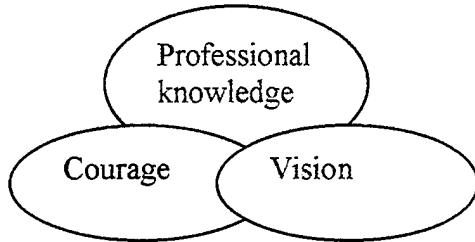
leaders, when they know theoretical principles and how they were applied in the past, future leaders can apply those principles more successfully in current situations.³³

Quite relevant today, such historical examples have much to teach us about military operations, preparations, and leadership. Looking back is particularly important in identifying the 2010 operational commander. For instance, while General Bradley was an instructor at the infantry school, the Army Chief of staff reportedly marked him as *suitable for future high command*.³⁴ Additionally, Field Marshall Montgomery noted that the great leader “must be a good picker of men, a good selector of subordinates—in fact, a good judge of character.”³⁵ Moreover, according to General Ridgway, mentoring is a priceless opportunity. Since one only has limited experience, drawing on the experience of others is invaluable. Ideally, mentoring is conducted during informal conversations with leaders who have demonstrated superior combat leadership.³⁶

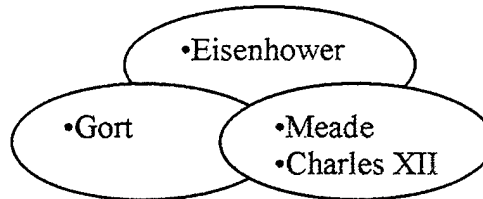
Historical analysis of successful and not as successful operational commanders will enhance today’s CINC’s ability to identify and prepare operational leaders of the 21st century. Assessing the three most salient attributes will allow CINCs to quickly focus on the most fundamental criteria required to successfully conduct war and operations other than war. To assist in recognizing the three most salient attributes in future operational commanders, today’s busy leaders can examine an historical *snapshot* of the successful operational leader’s three most salient attributes. One example might resemble the following:

Successful Operational leaders:

Three Salient Attributes:



Not as successful operational leaders:



No peacetime duty is more important for leaders than studying their profession, understanding the human dimension of leadership, becoming tactically and technically proficient, and preparing for war.

FM 100-5, *Operations*

V. Conclusion

Few people dispute the value of leaders. Successfully waging and winning wars is paramount, especially to the world's sole remaining superpower. Much insight is gained from historical examples. More importantly, without actual wartime experience, the benefits gained from reflection on past combatant leaders come closest to war in grooming tomorrow's operational commanders. The military's institutional training along with an officer's independent study, and the experience from assignments are essential in developing a leader's conceptual, analytical, and operational thinking capability.

Leadership, in its broadest sense, involves many intangibles of individual leaders. Nonetheless, the examples emphasized here support the case for the vitality of *superior professional knowledge, unwavering courage, and inspiring vision* to the success of 21st century operational leaders. Advances in information technology will enable the 21st century operational

leader to share and process information, almost instantaneously, providing a valuable tool for enhanced situational awareness. More important, however, is the CINC's ability to identify those officers with the requisite operational leadership skills, then groom those officers for combatant command. To this end, CINCs should ensure future operational leaders have a solid educational foundation, including an understanding of operational art.

The CINC's continued role in leadership development is imperative. In many respects, professional military education sets the stage. Nevertheless, one of a leader's most important responsibilities is the professional growth of tomorrow's leaders. In other words, "the first duty of a leader is to create more leaders."³⁷ Today's leaders must identify tomorrow's operational leaders – through personal observation and record review, then provide mentoring – passing on experiences, and also grooming – through training and challenging job assignment.

Can the success of future operational commanders be predicted? This paper argues, optimistically, for the prospects of operational success on the basis of analysis and research completed herein. As long as future leaders: (a) are trained in the *art of war*—acquiring professional knowledge, (b) are identified through displays of courage, and (c) are inspired and mentored by visionary leaders, then the framework exists for unequivocal future operational success. The overwhelming success of historical operational leaders, along with a genuine focus on training and education, leads to the conclusion that future operational commanders will be up to the challenge of meeting or exceeding the success of their predecessors. Strong operational leadership is as necessary today as at anytime in history.

To exercise the intellect a man should read histories, and study there the actions of illustrious men, to see how they have borne themselves in war, to examine the causes of their victories and defeat.

Machiavelli, Montgomery's *Path to Leadership*

NOTES

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- ¹ Omar N. Bradley, "On Leadership," *Parameters* 11, no. 3 (1981): 2-7.
- ² US Army Field Manual (FM)100-5, *Operations* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993), 2-11.
- ³ *Ibid.*, 2-15, 6-3.
- ⁴ Bernard Law, Viscount Montgomery of Alamein, *The Path to Leadership* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1961), 16.
- ⁵ *Ibid.*, 22-23.
- ⁶ Carl Von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976), 192.
- ⁷ Burt Nanus, *Visionary Leadership: Creating a Compelling Sense of Direction for your Organization* (San Francisco: Josse-Bass, 1992), 25.
- ⁸ Lynne Joy McFarland, Larry E. Senn, and John R. Childress, *21st Century Leadership* (New York: The Leadership Press, 1994), 6.
- ⁹ *Ibid.*, 94.
- ¹⁰ Edgar F. Puryear, Jr., *American Generalship, Character is Everything: The Art of Command* (Novato, CA: Presidio Press Inc., 2000), xii.
- ¹¹ Clausewitz, *On War*, 146.
- ¹² *Ibid.*, 177.
- ¹³ Sun Tzu, *The Art of War*, trans. Samuel B. Griffith (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 84.
- ¹⁴ Clausewitz, *On War*, 101.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 192.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 167.
- ¹⁷ Regressive planning, as defined in CNC&S Seminar 12 Senior Moderator Notes, CF-5 (Strategic Objective), 17 November 2000: the military sequence of actions moves backwards in time from the desired military conditions through the warfighting phase, warfighting start, deployment (as necessary) to warfighting positions, deterrence, and forward presence. This is an idealized backward progression, assuming the luxury of prior planning.
- ¹⁸ Warren Bennis and Burt Nanus, *Leaders: The Strategies for Taking Charge* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1985), 89.

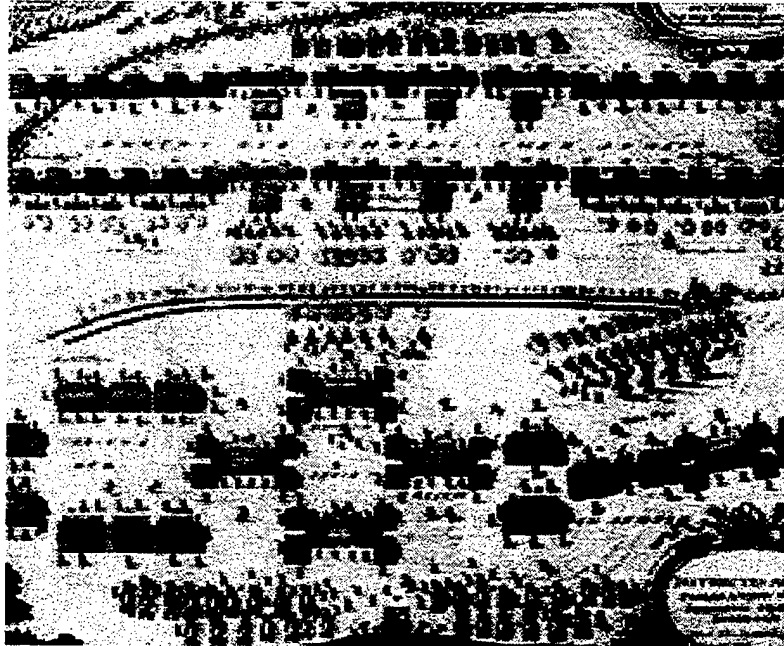
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- ¹⁹ Milan Vego, *On Operational Art*, 4th draft (U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI (NWC 1035C), September 1999), 450.
- ²⁰ Clausewitz, *On War*, 589.
- ²¹ Trevor N. Dupuy, *The Military Life of Gustavus Adolphus: Father of Modern War* (New York: Franklin Watts Inc., 1959), xvi, 54, 104-105.
- ²² Don Holloway, "Gustavus Adolphus and the Battle of Breitenfeld," *Military History* (February 1996): 38-44, 86.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 38-44, 86.
- ²⁴ Clay Blair, *Ridgway's Paratroopers: The American Airborne in World War II* (New York: The Dial Press, 1985), 4.
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*, 266-79.
- ²⁶ Fletcher Pratt, *Eleven Generals: Studies in American Command* (New York: Willam Sloane Associates Publishers, 1949), 297-355.
- ²⁷ Omar N. Bradley and Clay Blair, *A General's Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1983), 130.
- ²⁸ Montgomery, *Path to Leadership*, 24.
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*, 41-44.
- ³⁰ Captain Barney Rubel, *Operational Level Leadership* (U.S. Naval War College, Newport, RI (NWC 1032), January 1996), 1.
- ³¹ Montgomery, *Path to Leadership*, 21.
- ³² Clausewitz, *On War*, 111.
- ³³ Puryear, *American Generalship, Character is Everything: The Art of Command* 160-161.
- ³⁴ Pratt, *Eleven Generals: Studies in American Command*, 304.
- ³⁵ Montgomery, *Path to Leadership*, 12.
- ³⁶ Puryear, *American Generalship, Character is Everything: The Art of Command*, 169.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 188.

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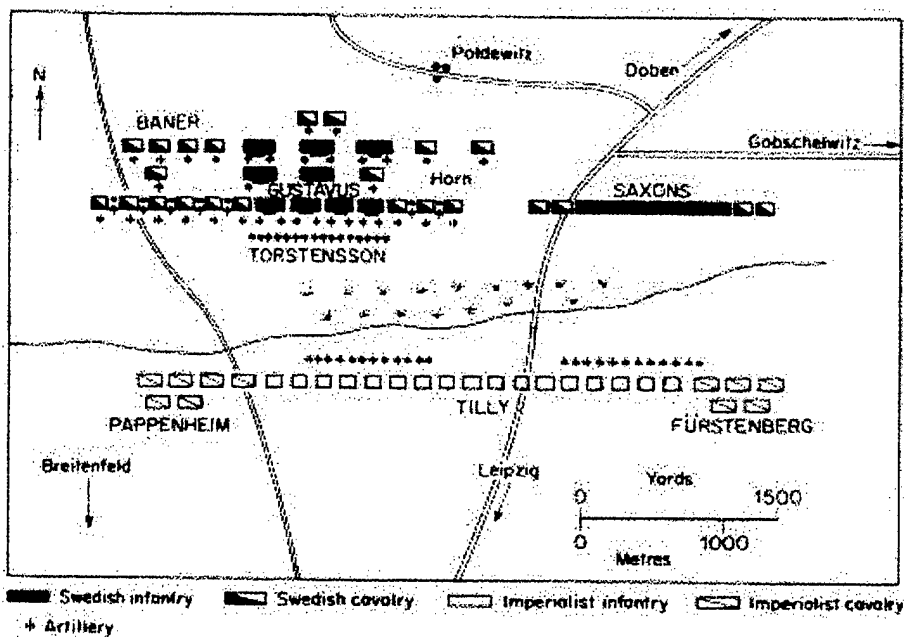
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APPENDIX A: THE BATTLE OF BREITENFELD MAPS

Swedish strategy on the battlefield with light artillery and long battlelines where muskets and pikes were used in cooperation was successful in many battles.



The Battle of Breitenfeld, September 1631



APPENDIX A: THE BATTLE OF BREITENFELD MAPS

The Battle of Breitenfeld, continued

